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ABSTRACT

Attitudes of 46 college women and their mothers toward the contemporary women's movement were compared. Three possible types of attitude congruence were hypothesized: (1) that mothers and daughters would agree on women's issues because they both have experienced discrimination based on sex, (2) that a generation gap of conflicting attitudes toward sex roles would exist, and (3) that mothers and daughters would agree on some but not all issues. In the study, participants completed a questionnaire containing 86 items of political and feminist issues. Analysis of the responses to 17 feminist issues is discussed in this paper. When responses of mother-daughter pairs were analyzed, it was found that both generations agree approximately 50% of the time on 50% of the issues. Both groups strongly support the women's movement, especially in areas of political and career rights. Greatest disagreement between the two groups was over issues such as birth control, strength of women's sex drive compared to men's, rights of married women to work, legalization of abortion, and women in contact sports. (AV)

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STABILITY AND CHANGE -- A GENERATIONAL ANALYSIS OF EDUCATED WOMEN'S SOCIO-POLITICAL VIEWS

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study of generational responses to the contemporary Woman's Movement(WM). Although movements on behalf of women's rights are not exactly new, organized protest against female subordination in the form of a feminist movement with a well articulated feminist ideology is a relatively new phenomenon. The post-war feminist movement, often referred to as the Woman's Liberation Movement, appeared on the horizon approximately at the same time as other social movements of the post-war period which have often been grouped together under the title of The New Politics or the Post-Industrial Politics. Most of the New-Politics movements have two things in common: (1) Their concern is with life style issues. They are principally concerned with "social and cultural rather than economic bread-and-butter issues." (Miller and Levitin,1976, p.1) (2) Youths rather than middle-aged citizens are most attuned to the issues raised. This holds for the United States (Pomper, 1975; Kirkpatrick,1977) as well as Western European countries (Kaase,1976; Allerbeck, Rosenmayr and Jennings,1976). Because the New Politics has often met with incomprehension and/or resistance by the older generations, observers have come to talk about a "generation gap". At times, especially during the turbulent 1960's, the gap seemed so unbreachable as to cause some investigators to wonder whether the generation which came to adulthhod during that decade represented a new political generation (to use the term coined by Karl Mannheim,1954).

The question which interests us here is: Does the WM exhibit the same type of "generation gap" found in other movements of the New Politics, or is it a social movement which has escaped such age polarization? By social movement we understand a group (not necessarily a physical group) of like-minded people which raises "socially shared demands for change in some aspect of the social order." (Gusfield, 1968, p.445) Adherents of these demands question the legitimacy of customary social insitutions and values. As such, a social movement "is not the unnoticed accretion of many unrecognized changes. Rather, it has the character of an explicit and conscious indictment of whole or part of the social order, together with a conscious demand for change. It also has an ideological component -- that is, a set of ideas which specify discontents, prescribe solutions, and justify change." (Gusfield, p. 445)

Clearly the contemporary WM meets these criteria. Broadly defined it makes two sets of demands for social change: (1) It asks society to eliminate all legal, political, and economic barriers to female equality and (2) It calls for an altered relationship between the sexes and thereby for a redefinition of the female role. Moreover it also has an ideological component. In a previous paper (Reynolds and Sigel, 1977) we illustrated that women who have questioned the legitimacy of our society's customary social values and institutions have also exhibited a fairly strong ideological coherence with respect to their discontents and preferred solutions. What we did not investigate in that paper -- and now wish to pursue -- is whether these demands for change are restricted to the younger generation (in our case, daughters) or cut across the generations (in our case, mothers and their daughters).

In pursuit of the answer to that question we undertook a small pilot project of 46 pairs of mothers and daughters who had

received their undergraduate education at Douglass College - the woman's college of Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. The nature and scope of the project, as we shall explain in the study design section, does not permit a very intensive or systematic investigation. It will, however, have served its purpose if it lends itself to the exploration of some of the theoretical issues involved as well as to the generating of hypotheses for future research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A priori we can suggest two seemingly contradictory frameworks for analysis. The first, which we shall call the generational one, predicts conflict between mothers and daughters on feminist issues. The second, which we shall call the sex stratum one, predicts intergenerational agreement.

The first one leans on Karl Mannheim's (1954) notion of political generations and visualizes the daughters as the generation of the New Politics, a type of politics which is alien to the more legalistic and economic approach of the maternal generation. A political generation, according to Mannheim, is seen as embracing related age groups which share "... a common location in the social and historical process" and which are limited by that context to "a specific range of potential experience, predisposing them for a certain characteristic mode of thought and experience, and a characteristic type of historically relevant action." (291) Not everyone reaching maturity during a specific historical period necessarily belongs to a new political generation. Rather, a political generation is that segment which responds to the unique spirit of the times, the Zeitgeist. Membership in a political generation usually occurs when youths faced with increasing exposure to the social institutions and arrangements around them -- Mannheim's fresh contact "with the accumulated cultural heritage" (p. 293) -- begin to reflect on them, to find them "problematical", and to devise "a novel approach in assimilating, using and developing the proffered material." (p. 293) To the extent that this questioning, this "novel approach" characterizes a group of people who share a given political consciousness and cohesiveness, we can identify a political generation. Having made the "fresh contact", the new political generation may find itself in conflict with those generations which have preceded it.

Although chronological age is not the exclusive criterion by which a political generation is determined, such a generation is primarily formed by the youngest adult generation at a given point in historical time. This notion rests on the idea that it is the youngest generation which is most likely to experience a "fresh contact" with their cultural heritage. "In youth ... where life is new, formative forces are just coming into being and basic attitudes in the process of development can take advantage of the moulding power of new situations." (296) The formative process permits youth both "to forget that which is no longer useful and

to covet that which has yet to be won." (294)*

In our context the WM might be visualized as having supplied a slogan of "profound emotional significance ... and a reasoned system of thought" (again quoting Mannheim) which have "served as vehicles of formative tendencies and fundamental integrative attitudes" that furnished the younger generation "with a set of collective strivings." (305) By raising the consciousness of young women as they made their first adult encounters (the fresh contacts) with our culture's sexual biases, the WM might have given rise to a new political generation, the generation of feminists. The older generation bereft of this fresh contact would resist abandoning traditional ways of thinking about sex-related arrangements. "Early impressions tend to coalesce into a natural view (author's italics) of the world. All later experiences then tend to receive their meaning from this original set, ..." (298) In our specific case, "the older generations entered politics at times when economic issues were dominant ... The newer generation has begun to cast ballots at a time when issues of equality, war, and life style are emphasized." (Pomper, 1975, p. 110). We should therefore expect that a "state of dynamic tension" would exist between the two generations.

An alternate way of thinking would argue that what unites women in a common fate is stronger than what separates them on the basis of age. It would argue that both generations will respond positively to the feminist Zeitgeist since both groups have been the victims of societal discrimination and hence share similar experiences and voice similar demands. We call this the sex stratum hypothesis.

The sex stratum hypothesis says that social location not age is what unites all women. In our society gender serves as a basis for social stratification with the upper stratum being occupied by the males. The stratum hypothesis would suggest that the WM movement has made women conscious of their common social location -- it has created stratum consciousness in them. This stratum consciousness based on self-interest would prevent generational conflict over feminist issues. The notion of commonly shared self-interest as a conflict-reducing force was developed by Foner (1974) not with respect to gender but with respect to age. She holds that age is not conflict-producing when common material benefits are at stake (such as better wages or working conditions). If we applied similar reasoning to the sex stratum hypothesis we would hold that orientation to feminist issues is age-independent. Since all women stand to gain from the changes advocated by the WM, their gender rather than age would predict to advocacy of feminist issues. Hence consensus rather than conflict would prevail

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* Bengston and Kuypers(1971) offer a slightly different explanation why generation gaps are likely to arise. Their concept of "the developmental stake" suggests that children in general have less of a "stake" in maintaining similarities with their parents. Young people have a greater investment in shaping new values and strategies of adaptation than do their parents who seek validation of the choices that they have already made. As such, the daughters in our sample should be more open to the appeals for social change and be more eager to experiment with the alternatives the Women's Liberation Movement presents to them.

between the generations.

A third approach, which constitutes a synthesis of the first two might be offered here. It would argue that responsiveness to feminist issues is a function of the types of issues raised. In general common interests should make for sex stratum solidarity on most feminist issues, but feminist issues which constitute a very sharp or radical break with past traditions and values will nonetheless provoke a generation gap. The hypothesis predicts that stratum solidarity would prevail on all issues of economic, legal, and political equality -- issues which are designed to implement the allegedly already existing equality of treatment. These issues may well approximate what Foner calls "material" issues. Equal pay for equal work or admission to certain training institutes would be examples in point. They appeal to women's material self-interests, and they are in keeping with the traditional American belief in opportunity for all. Consequently they shoul perform a conflict-reducing function.

By contrast feminist issues which require far-reaching social changes (as in the institution of marriage, the relation of the sexes, etc.) are predicted to be conflict generating (Foner calls these "ideal issues".). To devalue motherhood, for example, conflicts with deeply embedded values. "It is such basic changes that older people see as a threat to their way of life and are especially likely to oppose." (Foner, 1974, p. 194) Issues such as these are perhaps particularly charged -- and maybe even threatening -- for the maternal generation. Having experienced marriage and motherhood, the older generation has probably made a considerable investment of self into what was (or is) considered the "natural" female role.* Radically to rethink the naturalness of this role would thus demand not only a break with previously learned norms but also a reevaluation of one's self-image in relation to the role one has chosen to play (with the verdict possibly being negative). It would require -- to use Mannheim's terminology -- the formation of "a clearly distinguishable new impulse". Such formation, no doubt, comes easier to those who actually do make "fresh contacts" with their cultural heritage; i.e. the younger generation. Consequently these would be issues on which we would expect to find generational conflict.

But even on issues where such conflict is absent, we must bear in mind that change always has a disequilibrating effect for those socialized and accustomed to the prevailing patterns. Consequently it should disturb the older (the more socialized and habituated) more than the younger. Hence we should assume that even when both generations advocate change, the older generation will be more restrained in its advocacy. Mothers will be less enthusiastic in their endorsement of feminist issues even when they clearly perceive them to be advantageous. The younger generation, being less

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* Moreover, the fact that the members of the older generation in this analysis have all entered matrimony and raised children places them at a different stage in personal development. The roles and tasks which they must perform will impose responsibilities on them that their children do not share. (Havighurst, 1973) These responsibilities may further increase the likelihood that the generations will take different approaches to any problems with which both must deal. (Bengston and Black, p. 227)

firmly socialized, less encumbered by social tradition, is likely to be more enthusiatic in their approval of many feminist issues.

In sum, the third hypothesis suggests that neither the stratum nor the generational hypothesis alone can adequately predict attitudes toward the changes advocated by the WM. Instead we suggest that both apply but under different conditions. We assert that when a social movement calls for changes in customary practices and relationships, not all changes will be received equally by the designated beneficiaries. Sex stratum solidarity will prevail on issues of a material nature (legal, economic and political equality) although even here the generations will vary in the intensity with which they will advocate such changes, with the younger one being more positively inclined and the older one more restrained or ambivalent. Conflict will prevail over issues which run counter to traditional beliefs, taboos, and practices, especially as they concern the relation between the sexes. Perfect agreement or consensus will be rare for the above reasons and will exist only -- if at all -- on those questions on which women have long reached agreement among themselves (such as protests over sexual violation).

STUDY DESIGN

Our sample consisted of two generations of Douglass College students, mothers who had graduated form the college and daughters who were attending the college during the 1975-76 academic year. While the sample was initially drawn for reasons of expedience, a rather well-educated population seemed suited for our purposes. If we wanted to investigate the possibilities of intergenerational consensus among age-groups that share a common self-interest, we had to focus on two populations who might be receptive to the idea of change. College-educated women seemed more likely to meet these criteria than working-class women, because well-educated people (educated in a formal sense) have been shown to be less resistant to social change than people with less than a high school education (Campbell, et al, 1960). Material threats also could play a role in resisting the WM. Working class women tend to view any equal rights movement as potentially detrimental to their common interests for fear that emancipation might deprive them of special protection. (Green and Melnick, 1950)

The study was conducted by mail questionnaire in the spring of 1976. Of 47 collegians and 46 mothers (one mother had two daughters who were attending Douglass at the time), all but one mother and one daughter, unfortunately of different lineage pairs, returned the questionnaire. The questionnaires received by the mothers and daughters were identical except where common sense dictated otherwise. The questionnaire contained 86 items which dealt with political and feminist issues. The political issuesbecause of time constraints will be omitted here (but see Reynolds and Sigel, 1977 for a preliminary report.) Instead we shall restrict ourselves to an analysis of seventeen feminist issues. One question asked for respondent's view of the goal(s) of the contemporary Woman's Movement; the other asked for their general disposition toward the WM, and fifteen questions dealt with current feminist issues.* The format

* Eight of the fifteen issues had been planks of the National Woman's Agenda of 1975 where they were phrased as explicit demands on government and the private sector. The remaining seven issues deal with relations between the sexes and orientations toward the female role.

for the fifteen feminist issues was a Likert-type 7 point scale.*

No personal interviews were conducted, and no control group was included. It may, therefore, be heuristic here to explain how the study came about in order to explain these and other technical shortcomings. In the spring of 1976 a small advanced seminar at Douglass College-Rutgers University became sufficiently interested in the question of social change as it applied to women in order to want to engage in a common research project. While the supervision of the project was entirely in the hands of the senior author, the students participated in every aspect of it. The current analysis is, of course, exclusively the work of the two authors who hope to use the hypotheses herein generated for future, more systematic study. In short, we look at this truly as a pilot project.

Two analyses will be performed in the paper. First we shall perform an aggregate analysis by comparing mothers and daughters as separate aggregates. Such an analysis can inform us about similarities and differences in feminist orientations of the two generations and can document to us the presence or absence of a generation gap on this issue (or selected aspects of it). This kind of analysis, however, does not tell us much about the consensus or conflict which prevails within mother-daughter dyads or about the effectiveness with which specific dyads have become socialized. Note that we did not say the effectiveness with which mothers have socialized daughters. Similarity between them may be due to such transmission but it could also be due to the reverse, namely daughters socializing mothers, or it could be the result of a mutual influence process -- what Bengston and Black (1973) call "bilateral negotiations". These bilateral negotiations in turn may be the result of outside influences (such as the mass media). Our study will not permit us to make such causal inferences but we do want to explore intra-familial similarities. To discover them, an aggregate analysis is inadequate, and only a lineage paired analysis will do. That then will be our second type of analysis.

RESULTS

A. AGGREGATE COMPARISONS

The WM projects a somewhat uniform image across the two generations. Both mothers and daughters perceive it primarily as a movement which seeks the legal and economic equality of women. On the other hand, both generations also reject the suggestion that the movement is seeking extreme goals, such as the dissolution of the family. While the similarity in perception does not eliminate the possibility of generational conflict, it does seem clear that the two generations are at least basing their attitudes on similar views of the movement. The finding also suggests that the WM has succeeded in projecting an unambiguous image of itself as an organization on behalf of women's civil rights and equality.

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* To avoid response set, the most feminine answer was 7 at one time and 1 at another. After the administration all were converted to a value of 7.

-- INSERT TABLE I ABOUT HERE --

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that mothers and daughters both are favorably disposed to the idea of the contemporary Woman's Movement.* A very small minority in each group (Mothers 12%; daughters 13%) actually oppose it. Support of the idea, though clearly representing majority sentiment, is by no means overwhelming. 58% of the mothers support it unequivocally and 67% of the daughters do so -- pointing to some generational difference in the expected direction. Where mothers and daughters differ most is in the intensity of their support: Mothers are somewhat more inclined to be ambivalent whereas daughters are over twice as likely to be strong supporters (Likert value 7) of the WM. All told then we find majority sentiment in favor of the movement with mothers being more reticent and daughters more enthusiastic in their support. (Table II)

-- INSERT TABLE II ABOUT HERE --

Mothers' and daughters' endorsement of the general idea of the WM hides nonetheless some very real disagreement on specific issues. Tables III and IV examine the generational attitudes on the fifteen issues. Table III (which features the means on each issue) demonstrates that while the differences between the generations are relatively small on seven issues, they are relatively large on the remaining eight (six of which are statistically significant). The issue on which the differences are smallest, i.e. the generations are most agreed on, deal with career-related questions (with the exception of the rape issue which we had previously suggested was probably a consensual matter). Specifically they are: Women's desire for a career, admission to service academies, affirmative action, women's right to hold on to her job, and their need to be more competent than men in order to achieve.

By contrast the questions of widest disagreement deal either with traditional stereotypes about the nature of women (sex drive, motherhood, marriage, birth control, women in contact sports)** or with society's role in discouraging women from achieving on a par with men.***

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* The exact wording was: "What are your reactions to the Contemporary Woman's Movement?"

** Another issue which showed a large difference but one which, in contrast to the above, was not statistically significant was approval of the legalization of abortion.

*** Differences on endorsement of Day Care centers also failed to reach statistical significance. We interpret the issue as related to societal encouragement of female achievement drives since women might argue that without such service it would be difficult to pursue a career successfully. It is, of course, possible to argue that it relates to the question of mothering as well.

-- TABLE III ABOUT HERE --

Table IV analyzes the two generations on the basis of their feminism. Quite obviously, it is the generation of the daughters which is the more feminist. The table shows that the daughters are more feminist than the mothers on every issue but one, on which they are tied (affirmative action), and the margins of difference are sizeable. On the issue of sex drive, for example, there is a 30% difference, on contact sports 27% and on Day Care 20%. Conversely, mothers are more frequently anti-feminist than are daughters. This holds for every issue but affirmative action where daughters are slightly more anti-feminist (23% and 20% respectively). It must, however, be pointed out that mothers as a group are not inclined to be avidly anti-feminist. Only on the issues of contact sports and marriage do the anti-feminist percentages for mothers exceed 30%. The general tendency for mothers is to be either slightly ambivalent or pro feminist. It is then often merely a question of intensity not of direction. We must, however, not overlook that for some issues, the sex-related ones, disagreement often borders on conflict.

-- TABLE IV ABOUT HERE --

To summarize so far: the issues of agreement inasmuch as they deal with questions of career seem to be the type of material issues which we had predicted would cut across age differences in uniting women for a joint goal: to obtain legal and economic equality of opportunity. The issues of widest disagreement, as we had also predicted, center around new views of what it means to be a woman and what women want out of life. The daughters no longer value marriage and motherhoods as highly as do the mothers or perhaps it would be more accurate to say they no longer see these institutions as the main avenue for self-fulfillment. Nor do they see women as so very different from men (at least as far as sex drive and emotional differences are concerned). Ideas about sex, motherhood, and marriage are precisely the kind of ideas (Foner's ideal issues) people internalize relatively early in life and resist abandoning by the time they have reached middle-age. Mothers, so we have argued, would be particularly reluctant to denigrate the idea of motherhood having invested so much of themselves in it.

The above findings thus point to sex stratum solidarity on career issues and to generational conflict on feminine role issues. Overall concurrence is more prevalent than conflict but even where concurrence is present, daughters tend to be more decisive or intense in their endorsement of feminist issues.* This also is in keeping with our prediction which had asserted that change

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* Mothers differ from daughters in that they constitute a more heterogenous population. This conclusion has been drawn from a comparison of the standard deviations of the two groups on the fifteen issues. The mean SD for the daughters is 1.38 while the mean for the mothers is 1.62.

generally is more discomforting to the older generation and therefore will be accepted by it with more restraint than it will be by the younger generation even when both generations stand to gain from it. Our data do not permit us to conclude that mothers and daughters are poised in conflict (i.e. we cannot confirm the political generation hypothesis) nor can we say that they are in a state of consensus (the sex stratum hypothesis). However, each hypothesis predicts well to a different set of issues. This suggests that the synthesis of the two conceptualizations (our third hypothesis) has considerable explanatory power.

B. LINEAGE COMPARISONS

Our aggregate analysis informed us about similarities and differences in feminist orientations of the two generations. "This kind of comparison of aggregates does not, however, tell us much about the actual relations of the members of both generations. The generations do not interact as aggregates." (Allerbeck, et al, 1976, p.17) To obtain information of familiar (or rather mother/daughter) similarity we shall now turn to a lineage comparison.

Much as we would expect, not one pair of mothers and daughters found itself in complete agreement on all issues But two dyads came surprisingly close (agreeing eleven or twelve times). Conversely, only one dyad never found itself in agreement even on a single issue. The mean for the frequency with which the pairs could be found in perfect agreement was 4.6 issues out of a possible 15. In other words, perfect agreement could be found on slightly less than one third of the issues.

If we relax our criterion for agreement or concordance to include all instances where mothers and daughters differed from each other by no more than an absolute value of one on the Likert scale, we find close agreement to be far more frequent. In that case the mean frequency of proximate agreement within the lineage pairs rises to 9.24. Depending on how we want to look at it, we could say that an overwhelming majority of pairs (78%) agree on half or more of the fifteen issues. Or, using more rigorous standards, we could say that fewer than half of the dyads (47%) are in proximate agreement on a wide range of feminist issues (ten or more). Seven percent of the dyads agree on twelve or more of the issues while another 7% agree on five or fewer issues. Thus, we can see that in trying to assess the frequency of agreement between members of the same lineage pair, the pattern is similar to that found in the aggregate. Both analyses show a pattern of similarity with the differences being a matter of degree rather than a matter of kind.

--INSERT TABLE V ABOUT HERE--

What are the issues on which we find lineage concordance most pronounced? The following five issues find over two-thirds of the mother/daughter pairs agreeing with each other (either completely or proximately so): Rejecting the idea that there is no such thing as rape; rejecting the idea that married women should not work

outside the home*; approving of the legalization of abortion; agreeing that birth control should be readily available to unmarried female collegians, and agreeing that women's sex drives are as well developed as males'. By contrast the issues on which we find the largest number of mothers and daughters to be in sharp disagreement (4 to 6 points difference) are the designation of contact sports as exclusively male, the idea that society is to blame if women have so far failed to achieve much, and the idea that women need to be more competent than men if they want to get ahead. On these issues some mother-daughter pairs not only disagree among themselves but disagree so sharply that they actually take opposing positions. Such intense conflict between mothers and daughters, however, is the exception rather than the rule (highest disagreement is on the question of societal discouragement where 43% of the dyads sharply disagree, contact sports 31%, and the need for female competence 26%). From the above it would seem that mothers and daughters do not necessarily hold the same view of society and its treatment of women. The daughters are clearly more critical. But mothers and daughters are in substantial agreement on questions which deal with female sexuality.

-- INSERT TABLE VI ABOUT HERE --

Interestingly enough the above instances of dyad agreements are the very issues on which the aggregates found themselves in significant disagreement (with the exception of the question of rape and work outside the home).** Apparently what separates the cohorts or aggregates is what unites the lineage pairs. How can we explain this seeming paradox?

The issues which unite dyads (with the exception of the employment one) are not economic but highly personal, perhaps moral, ones. All these issues have, directly or indirecly, a strong sexual component, and they also touch on the question of what it means to be a woman. These may very well be the types of issues where the family is most influential. These may also be the issues on which mothers and daughters have engaged in many "bilateral negotiations" over an extended period of time. By contrast questions of societal discrimination, affirmative action (another question on which majorities of dyads failed to agree) and similar ones may be much more indicative of the new Zeitgeist which attributes the current female situation to longstanding political and societal forces rather than to women themselves. Here daughters in their fresh contact with the Zeitgeist may respond much more positively to new political ideas whereas mothers may be more restrained. It may also be that issues

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* "Women whose husbands work should not work outside the home. That just takes jobs away from men."

** To recapitulate from the aggregate analysis: the issues on which the two generations differed most significantly were the nature of the female sex drive, the nature of female emotions, the importance of motherhood, women's ultimate goal being marriage rather than work, the availability of birth control, provisions for Day Care, and societal discrimination. Only the last two are also sources of dyad conflict.

such as these seem not to be amenable to familial control as moral and sexual values and hence fewer bilateral negotiations may have taken place.

If the above interpretation has any merit, we are faced with the paradox phenomenon where the two generations in the aggregate differ from each other in their response to the new definition of the female role but where individual dyads find themselves in substantial agreement. Such a conclusion at first seems to stand in sharp contrast to those from the political socialization literature (Connell, 1972;Tedin, 1974;Jennings and Niemi, 1974; Niemi,1974) since they have documented little intrafamilial similarity except for party identification. It must be borne in mind, however, that most of the issues examined by these scholars were political ones rather than more basic values. Although Niemi, Ross, and Alexander (mim.) in a secondary analysis of the 1968 Yankelovich study reached rather similar conclusions for sexual issues, their reported mother/daughter correlations on sexual matters though still modest, tended to be higher than those for most political questions (except, of course, party identification). Studies of college student populations also have pointed to relatively close correspondence between parental and offspring values (although as Niemi et al rightly point out many of these studies have severe methodological limitations; Flacks, 1967; Keniston, 1967 and 1968; Westby and Braungart, 1970). It would therefore seem that the family is an important value socializer (Bengston, 1975). Moreover, data from a recent five nations study (Allerbeck, et al, 1976) parallel ours in many respects. They also observed lineage similarity in spite of pronounced aggregate discrepancies. They concluded that it "is clear that parents serve as positive referents much more frequently than as negative referents." (p. 24) We do not want to make quite so broad an inference but we cite them in order to point out the intra-lineage similarity observed by us held for their US sample as well as for samples in Western Europe.

So far we have emphasized the extent of intra-dyad agreement. What, however, about the instances where such agreement does not prevail? Are the daughters then always more feminist? Not invariably so. Examining the 42 pairs for feminism, we find that in over two thirds of the cases (69%) the daughters are the more feminist member but in 26% of the cases the mothers are more feminist (table VII).

-- INSERT TABLE VII ABOUT HERE --

However in the dyads where mothers are more feminist than daughters, the differences between the two members of the lineage pair is less pronounced than in the dyads where the daughters are more feminist. In other words, in the typical dyad the daughter is not only more feminist than the mother but she is so on many more issues than is the mother in the atypical dyad where she is the more feminist member (table VIII).

-- INSERT TABLE VIII ABOUT HERE --

To summarize our analysis of mother/daughter pairs: We found considerably more agreement within dyads than we did between aggregate generational units. This holds particularly for the very issues (often sex related) where aggregate disagreement was most visible. Even where disagreement prevailed within the dyads, it tended to be more a question of intensity than direction. This relatively pronounced lineage congruence notwithstanding, daughters tended to exceed their mothers in pro-feminism (and by a substantial margin at that) at both levels of the analysis.

CONCLUSION

In general our findings point to the absence of a pronounced generation gap whether we examine the two generations as aggregates or as mother-daughter pairs. To be sure, disagreement exists between the generations but it tends to be one of intensity rather than direction -- mothers are more ambivalent or restrained in their endorsement of feminist issues than are daughters. This finding would tend to confirm our notion of new Zeitgeist to which mothers and daughters react similarly. The explanation might be that the WM articulated for them and made visible demands and discontents which they may long have felt. The finding would the argue on behalf of the sex stratum hypothesis.

Areas of disagreement and even sharp conflict do exist, however, and for the aggregate units these center around the new role of the woman, especially her sexual nature and what it means to be a woman. Here mothers tend to cling to the more traditional view of the importance of marriage and motherhood and of the essential differences between males and females with respect to emotions and sexual drives. Daughters reject this tradition much more readily. Findings in this area argue for the appearance of a new political generation. Perplexingly enough lineage congruence is great in these sexual matters, suggesting much effective intrafamilial (or intra lineage) socialization. The discrepancy between aggregate and lineage findings should alert us to the need of not drawing generational conclusions from an examination of one or the other alone. "Any inference from aggregate differences to families is likely to be misleading. There is no necessary, clear-cut inference about agreement or conflict in families on the basis of aggregate similarities or differences alone." (Allerbeck, et al, 1976, p. 17) But neither are we entitled to make inferences about generations from lineage studies alone. It is quite possible that some individual family units change ahead of widespread social changes while others resist them longer than the bulk of society. Whereas the new cohorts entering the political arena may discard or modify old values and thereby create some intergenerational tension, individual families may well remain untouched by the social turmoil around them.

> The extent to which the problem of younger generations are reflected back upon the older one becomes greater in the measure that the dynamism of society increases. Static conditions make for attitudes of piety - the

> younger generation tends to adapt itself to the older ... With the strengthening of the social dynamic, however, the older generation becomes increasingly receptive to influence from the younger. (Mannheim, 1954, p. 302)

The chances for such receptivity are vastly enhanced, we would suggest, when the influence of the younger is also in the self-interest of the older. This we believe to be the case of the older females. They stand to benefit from the change advocated by the younger generation. It is our explanation for the mutedness of the conflict over feminist issues.

TABLE I -- PERCEPTION OF THE GOALS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT BY GENERATION*

Question: What do you consider to be the goals of the contemporary women's movement?

	Mothers	Daughters
Equal pay for equal work	91%	100%
Abolish job discrimination based on sex	96%	98%
Equal legal rights	96%	96%
More opportunity for women to hold office	70%	69%
Abortion on demand	43%	49%
Abolish alimony	7%	18%
Decrease Feminity and sex appeal	9%	11%
Dissolution of the family	7%	4%
Make men subservient to women	5%	2%
N =	(45)	(46)

*Percentages are the number of respondents who identified the stated goal as one which is sought by the women's movement. Percentages do not add up to 100% because multiple responses were allowed.

TABLE II -- SUPPORT FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT BY GENERATION

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WM	Mothers	Daughters
Non-supportive*	12%	13%
Ambivalent	30%	20%
Supportive	44%	38%
Strongly Supportive	14%	29%
N =	(43)	(45)

Tau C = .14

P < .11

*Nonsupportive category consists of those respondents who either disapproved or strongly disapproved of the Women's Movement. Those who were somewhat disapproving, neutral, or somewhat approving were categorized as ambivalent. The supportive respondents approved of the WM and the strongly supportive expressed strong approval of the WM.

TABLE III -- MEAN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS BY ISSUE

ISSUE*	Mothers	Daughters	Difference
Contact sports designated as exclusively male	3.78	5.20	1.42**
Women's sex drive equal to men's	5.34	6.40	1.06**
Society discourages women's achievement	4.88	5.70	.82**
Motherhood is highest form of self-fulfillment	4.62	5.33	.71**
Publicly financed Day Care centers	4.86	5.56	.70**
Marriage is preferable to a career	3.86	4.45	.69
Birth control should be available to unmarried students	5.93	6.58	.65**
Approval of Supreme Court's legalization of abortion	5.35	5.96	.61
No emotional differences between men and women	4.36	4.93	.57
Women want a career as much as men do	4.82	5.32	.50
Women should be admitted to service academies	5.40	5.89	.49
There is no such thing as rape	6.64	6.80	.16
Affirmative action	4.29	4.19	-.10
Women whose husbands work should not work	6.45	6.42	-.03
Women need to be more competent than men	5.47	5.47	.00

*The issues are listed in an abbreviated form. (For the full questions see Appendix.) The strongly feminist was converted to a score of 7 and the strongly anti-feminist to a score of 1.

**Those differences marked with an asterisk are statistically significant at the .05 level. This level of significance was established by performing a two tailed T-test.

TABLE IV -- ATTITUDES ON FEMINIST ISSUES BY GENERATION

Issue	% Anti-Feminist*		% Ambivalent		% Pro-Feminist		Tau C
	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	Mothers	Daughters	
No such thing as rape	2	0	5	2	93	98	.08
Women should not work if their husbands do	0	0	11	13	88	86	.02
Sex drives are equal	2	0	44	16	55	85	.48**
Availability of birth control	2	0	24	13	74	86	.32**
Legalization of abortion	17	7	19	15	65	78	.14
Women are discouraged	19	4	28	25	53	70	.28**
Need to be more competent	12	9	23	22	65	69	-.02
Public Day Care	16	4	40	33	45	65	.25**
Admission to service academies	7	2	37	31	56	65	.17
Women want careers	7	2	53	43	41	55	.18
Motherhood most fulfilling	15	2	40	44	46	54	.26**
No emotional differences	14	7	43	42	43	52	.20**
No contact sports for women	32	11	44	37	24	51	.43**
Work or marriage as a goal	31	14	47	51	23	36	.20**
Affirmative action	20	23	53	50	28	28	-.02

*Anti-feminists were grouped together because they either disapproved or disapproved strongly of what the authors determined was the anti-feminist position on the issue in question. Ambivalents, here, are those who were neutral or somewhat approving or somewhat disapproving of the feminist position. The pro-feminists are those who approve or approve strongly of the feminist positions on the issues which we presented to them.

**All of those Tau C's which are marked with a double asterisk are statistically significant at the .05 level. All of the other correlations failed to meet the .05 test.

TABLE V -- FREQUENCY OF ISSUE AGREEMENT BY LINEAGE PAIRS

FREQUENCY OF AGREEMENT*	% OF PAIRS	(N=)
12-15	7	3
11	14	6
10	26	11
9	17	7
8	14	6
7	10	4
6	5	2
1-5	7	3

*Agreement here was defined as proximate agreement. In other words, if the attitudes of the two members of a pair differ by an absolute value of 1 or less, then they are in proximate agreement.

TABLE VI -- Mother/Daughter Pairs Agreement* on Feminist Issues

Issue	% of Pairs Agreeing	% of Pairs in Moderate Disagreement	% of Pairs in Sharp Conflict
No such thing as rape	90	7	2
Women should not work if their husbands do	88	12	0
Legalization of abortion	77	12	12
Availability of birth control	69	21	9
Sex drives are equal	67	21	12
Women want careers	62	31	7
Public Day Care	61	28	9
Admission to service academies	57	37	7
Need to be more competent	55	17	26
No emotional differences	55	31	15
Motherhood most fulfilling	52	31	17
Affirmative action	48	36	17
No contact sports for women	43	27	31
Work or marriage as a goal	45	43	12
Women are discouraged	31	24	43

*Definition of agreement for this table is the same as for Table V

TABLE VII -- OVERALL FEMINIST BALANCE WITHIN LINEAGE PAIRS

	% More Feminist	(N=)
Mothers More Feminist	26	(11)
Both Equally Feminist	5	(2)
Daughters More Feminist	69	(29)

TABLE VIII -- Feminist Balance Within Lineage Pair by Issue

Issue	Number of Pairs in which: Mothers More Feminist	Daughters More Feminist	Exact Agreement
Affirmative action	17	18	7
Need to be more competent	17	15	10
Women want careers	12	18	12
No contact sports for women	11	26	5
Admission to service academies	11	17	14
Women are discouraged	10	24	8
Public Day Care	10	22	10
Work or marriage as a goal	9	25	8
Motherhood most fulfilling	9	23	10
No emotional differences	7	24	11
Availability of birth control	7	20	15
Legalization of abortion	7	15	20
Women should not work if their husbands do	7	12	23
Sex drives are equal	4	28	10
No such thing as rape	3	9	30

APPENDIX

The full wording of each attitudinal question used in the analysis is listed below.

A. The measure of support for the Woman's Movement used in Table I:

What are your reactions to the contemporary woman's movement?

B. The questions used to measure attitudes on the feminist issues are listed here. These questions were worded in such a way as to avoid the problem of response set. However, those marked with an asterisk were recoded to convert all the feminist responses into agree responses. These questions were used in the analysis presented in Tables III through VIII.

There is much talk today about what women are like and what they want. Below are some statements which are frequently made. Please circle the extent to which you agree or disagree with each.

-- The ultimate goal for most women is still marriage more than a career.*
-- If fewer women than men have achieved success, it is because society has discouraged them from achieving.
-- Women's sexual drive is not as strong as men's.*
-- There are great emotional differences between men and women.*
-- Women want a career just as much as do men.
-- For a woman to reach a position of considerable responsibility, she has to be more competent and work harder than most men.
-- There is no such thing as rape. Most raped women have invited the attack either consciously or unconsciously.*
-- Motherhood is the greatest form of self-fulfillment for the normal woman.*
-- Women whose husbands work should not work outside the home. That just takes jobs away from men.*
-- Publicly financed Day Care Centers to enable women to work while raising a family.
-- The Supreme Court's decision to legalize abortions.
-- Admission of women to service academies, such as police and firemen academics, West Point, Annapolis, etc.
-- Making birth control information and contraceptives available to unmarried college students.
-- Affirmative action for women (insisting that employers give preference in hiring to qualified women.
-- Designation of contact sports (football, LaCrosse, etc.) as exclusively male sports.*

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